young people. He was always there with a calming and reassuring word, even in the craziest of times. He could always help people stop and take a breath, listen a little better, think a little harder, gather up their energies, and go on. In a town so often contentious, it was truly amazing to be reminded that you can be civil and effective at the same time.

I'd also like to thank him publicly for how much he loved the District of Columbia and how strongly he supported our administration's efforts to be a good neighbor and a good partner. Who can forget that he began his closing statement last year in the well of the Senate: "My name is Charles Ruff. I'm from the District of Columbia. And we don't have a vote in the Congress of the United States."

I wish, in a way, this platform today in this house of God could be shared by every person in the White House who loved him. And I wish so much that every person out there on the streets of Washington, DC, whom he loved

could know just a portion of what he labored to do for them. The reason I was proud to have him as my White House Counsel is that he was not a power lawyer; he was a powerful lawyer for people who had no power.

No matter what he was asked to do, he did it with grace and honor, as if that alone was what God put him on Earth to do. And for that I am profoundly grateful.

Chuck Ruff left us far too soon. But you can hear in the words and see in the voice of every person who has spoken today that he is still here. I hope he thinks we did all right by him today. I hope he is pleased by this vast assemblage of people, because he certainly always did more than all right by all of us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:25 a.m. at the National Cathedral. In his remarks, he referred to Mr. Ruff's wife, Sue, his daughters, Christina Ruff Wagner and Carin Ruff, and his mother, Margaret Carlson.

Exchange With Reporters Prior to Discussions With European Union Leaders

December 18, 2000

Middle East Peace Process

Q. Mr. President, are you making any progress on the Middle East, and do you think you may try to make a trip in that direction before you leave office?

President Clinton. Well, let me say, first of all, the parties are reengaging, and they've asked us to be involved, and that's good. But we're going to be on their timetable, so I can't say for sure. I'm willing, as always, to do whatever I can, and I will do whatever I can. But the timetable will be up to them.

President's Future Plans

Q. Mr. President, millions of people at home, in France, and in Europe are wondering: What is Bill Clinton going to do after the 20th of January? So, outside the library and the Democratic Party's future, are you set onto anything international?

President Clinton. Well, I hope that I will be able to be involved in a lot of the things that I have cared greatly about here. I'm very interested in the economic empowerment of poor people around the world. I'm very interested in efforts that President Chirac and President Prodi and we're all making together to try to fight AIDS and deal with public health problems around the world.

But I think it's important that at least that, for a time, that I do what I can to help President-elect Bush have a good transition and that he have the chance to do his job in a way that is uninterrupted by me or anyone else, and I need to find an appropriate way to continue my activities.

And of course, now I have a Senator to support. I have to go out and make a living, so I'll do that, too.

European Union-U.S. Relations

[At this point, a question was asked, and President Jacques Chirac of France answered in French.]

President Clinton. Will you translate what he said to the press? We've got some Americans

over there, though. Just roughly summarize what he said.

Interpreter. I can't because I didn't take any notes. I'm sorry.

President Clinton. Jacques can tell him what he said. [Laughter]

Interpreter. Well, essentially, President Chirac said that the relationship between—first of all, he thanked President Clinton for his role in helping at the construction of Europe, and secondly, he also mentioned that the relationship between the Europeans—I hope I understand you correctly, Mr. Chirac—and the Americans would be, he said, brotherly.

President Chirac. I think that there is too much preoccupation at the moment. The relations must change, of course, because the world is changing. Europe is large, but we are all convinced that there is no future if there is not a strong, strong common action between the U.S. and Europe. And NATO is the natural place for this. I see only necessity of adaptation, not necessity of change.

Q. President Chirac, like, I imagine, for a lot of people, you will miss President Clinton. I think you had friendly relations with him. How do you see the relationship with the new American President?

President Romano Prodi. Concerning Europe, European troubles?

President Chirac. I want to repeat that I think that the action of President Clinton has been extremely positive for Europe and also for our transatlantic relations. And for that, I want to express the credit to the esteem and the friendship of all Europeans for President Clinton.

And so the path is now open, and I have no doubt that there is a will, a determination both in the United States and in Europe, to continue to advance, hand in hand, in order so progress can be made, both on a human and on a political level in order to continue to construct Europe. And I will say that I hope that this will be done in a spirit of universal solidarity. And I have no doubt that our relations with the new American President will also be excellent.

President Clinton. Let me say, I basically agree with that. I would like to—we've gone through a period here, an 8-year period in the aftermath of the cold war in which we dealt with three very large questions, and we in the United States, one of them indirectly: How do we feel about the European Union, the deep-

ening of the European Union, and the expansion of the European Union?

From the time I started running for President, I strongly supported that. I think that's good. I want Europe to be more integrated if the Europeans want it, and I want the European Union to be bigger if the Europeans want it. I think, on balance, that's a very good thing for world peace and prosperity and for the strengthening of freedom.

Second question: What would we do with NATO? Well, we expanded NATO. I expect it to continue to expand. President Chirac has got some countries he wants in NATO, and I agree with him. And we had a new relationship with Russia, which I hope will be strengthened, and with Ukraine.

The third big question: What would we do with southeastern Europe, with Bosnia and Kosovo, Serbia? And I think while there is a great deal of work still to be done in all three places—and we're going to talk about that—on balance, the fact that the United States and Europe stood for freedom, stood against ethnic cleansing, stood together for an entire Europe that is free, was a very great thing and gives a much brighter prospect to the 21st century.

So I believe that the new administration will find that these three developments are all positive, and I think that the relationship between the U.S. and Europe will be positive. Will there be trade disputes and other disputes? Of course there will. But that's natural, and I would say that those are high-class problems.

We're not worried about the survival of freedom here. We're not worried about the survival of our democracy. We're not worried about whether we share the same values. So I feel very good about this, and I think the future will be quite good between the United States and Europe.

Thank you. It's been a great honor. These men have done a great job, and I've enjoyed their personal friendship and our partnership, both of them. I'm very, very grateful.

President's Future Plans

Q. Will you meet again?

President Clinton. I certainly hope so. You know, they might not have as much time for me when I'm out of office, but I'll have more time. And I love France, and I love Italy, so maybe I can find some reason to walk the

streets and see the people, be of some use in the future.

NOTE: The exchange began at 12:09 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The President

met with President Chirac, in his capacity as President of the European Council, and President Romano Prodi of the European Commission. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Declaration by the United States and the European Union on the Responsibilities of States and on Transparency Regarding Arms Exports December 18, 2000

The United States and the European Union share a common vision on the question of arms export controls. That is why we have decided to work jointly to encourage all arms exporting countries to adopt the principles and degree of transparency which we apply to our own exports. We are agreed that we have special responsibilities in this respect. Accordingly, together we will pursue the promotion of these principles with rigor and seriousness of purpose.

The European Union expressed, very early on, its determination to promote common high-level standards in this field with the adoption in 1991 and 1992 by the Luxembourg and Lisbon European Councils of the first set of common criteria for arms exports. The adoption in 1998 of the EU Code of Conduct for arms exports was a new step forward as it introduced a mechanism for notifications and consultations, the only one of its kind. Since its entry into force in June 1998, the Code of Conduct has helped to increase significantly the level of transparency in arms exports and to promote convergence of the national arms export policies implemented by Member States. The European Union encourages other countries to adhere to the principles of the code of conduct and welcomes the fact that 17 countries have declared they would apply these principles to their own export decisions.

The United States, for its part, maintains comprehensive national arms export control policies, including registration of manufacturers and exporters of defense articles and services subject to U.S. jurisdiction, wide-ranging controls on exports of defense services, manufacturing licenses, technical assistance and brokering transactions, rigorous case-by-case review of applications or other requests for approval, requirements for U.S. government consent for retrans-

fers of U.S. origin defense articles and services, and effective enforcement measures including a vigorous program of pre- and post-shipment monitoring of U.S. arms transfers. The United States has also supported efforts to strengthen international and multilateral controls involving greater responsibility, transparency and restraint. The United States has welcomed and expressed its strong support for the principles embodied in the EU Code of Conduct for Arms Exports, which are consistent with the U.S. arms transfer policy criteria. In furtherance of these policies and efforts, the United States has recently proposed the development and negotiation of an "international arms sales code of conduct" as a means of promoting principles and practices of responsibility, transparency and restraint on a wider international scale.

In deciding to collaborate in the promotion of these principles regarding arms exports, the United States and the European Union reaffirm the right of States to acquire the means of self-defense, consistent with the UN Charter Implementation of stringent and responsible controls by exporting States is a *sine qua non* for the acceptable conduct of arms exports. The efficiency of such controls is enhanced by a close dialogue between the licensing authorities and the exporting companies.

We reaffirm the fundamental importance we attach to the promotion of democracy and the respect for human rights. For this reason, we deem it crucial to avoid export of military equipment when there is reason to believe that it will be used for internal repression or violation of internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We also stress that arms transfers should not contribute to or result in excessive or destabilizing arms accumulations, regional instability,